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# ***JPRS Report***

## **China**

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No 21, 4 November 1987

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No 21, 4 November 1987

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal HONGQI of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing]

**Advance Along the Road of Socialism With Chinese Characteristics—Report at the 13th CPC National Congress**

*Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 pp 3-27*

[Report by Zhao Ziyang]

This report was published in its entirety in FBIS-CHI-87-206S, pp 10-34.

**Resolution on the Report of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Adopted by the 13th CPC National Congress (1 November 1987)**

*OW010529 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 p 27*

[Text] The 13th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party has approved the report delivered by Comrade Zhao Ziyang on behalf of the party's 12th Central Committee.

The congress fully affirmed the fruitful work done by the 12th Central Committee. It held that since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee and through the party's 12th Congress, the party has persisted in and developed its correct Marxist line and on the basis of the tremendous achievements scored in the socialist construction since the founding of the People's Republic, has opened up a new phase in the historic development of the party and brought about profound historic changes in the country.

The congress gave high appraisal of the significant contribution made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in forming and developing the party's line since the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee.

The congress held that the report given by Comrade Zhao Ziyang on behalf of the party's 12th Central Committee is a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the party and the people. By following an ideological line of "seeking truth from facts," a line which Comrade Mao Zedong advocated, the report closely integrated the Marxist basic principles with the concrete practice in China's construction and reform and expounded on the theory that China is still in the primary stage of socialism.

This correct conclusion is of great, historic and far-reaching significance in correcting and combating interferences from the "left" and right and in uninterruptedly pushing the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The report put forth the party's basic line in the primary stage of socialism, namely: to lead the people of all nationalities in a united, self-reliant, intensive and pioneering effort to turn China into a prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and modern socialist country by making economic development its central task while adhering to the four cardinal principles and persevering in reform and the open policy.

The congress held that this basic line, which is a continuation, enrichment and development of the party's line since the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, conforms with China's actual conditions and is therefore utterly correct. The line and the fundamental policies which have been formulated on the basis of the basic line for the economic construction, economic and political structural reforms and party building offered a basic blueprint for China's construction and reform.

The congress pointed out that the central task of the congress is to accelerate and deepen the reform. The achievements in the construction and reform are great, yet we are still facing many problems and difficulties. It has a long way to go and even more arduous task to perform.

The congress called on the whole party, rallying under the great banner of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and led by the 13th Central Committee, to adhere to the party's basic line, firmly bear in mind the central task and two basic points laid down in the basic line, promote unity within the party, further improve the close relations between the party and the people of all nationalities in the country and strive for the realization of the grand goal of socialist modernization with one heart and one mind and in soaring and pioneering spirit.

**Resolution on 'Revision of Some Articles of the CPC Constitution,' Adopted by the 13th CPC National Congress (1 November 1987)**

*HK231246 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 p 28*

[Text] The 13th CPC National Congress has approved the "Revision of Some Articles of the CPC Constitution" put forward by the 12th CPC Central Committee and has decided that this revision shall go into effect on the same date of its approval.

**Revision of Some Articles of the CPC Constitution (Adopted by the 13th CPC National Congress on 1 November 1987)**

*OW011221 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 pp 28-29*

[Text] The 13th CPC Congress decided to revise some of the articles of "The Constitution of the Communist Party of China" as follows:

1. Paragraph 1 of Article 11 reads: "There may be a preliminary election in order to draw up a list of candidates for the formal election. Or there may be no preliminary election, in which case the number of candidates shall be greater than that of the persons to be elected." These two sentences are replaced by the following: "The election procedure of nominating a larger number of candidates than the number of persons to be elected may be used directly in a formal election, or this procedure may be used first in a preliminary election in order to draw up a list of candidates for the formal election."

2. Paragraph 1 of Article 16 reads: "Party organizations must keep to the principle of subordination of the minority to the majority in discussing and making decisions on any matter. Serious consideration should be given to the differing views of a minority. In case of controversy over major issues in which supporters of the two opposing views are nearly equal in number, except in emergencies where action must be taken in accordance with the majority view, the decision should be put off to allow for further investigation, study, and exchange of opinions followed by another discussion. If still no decision can be made, the controversy should be reported to the next higher party organization for a ruling." These sentences are replaced by the following: "Party organizations must implement the principle of subordination of the minority to the majority in discussing and making decisions on any matter. Major issues should be decided by vote. Serious consideration should be given to the differing views of the minority. In case of controversy over major issues in which supporters of the two opposing views are nearly equal in number, except in emergencies where action must be taken in accordance with the majority view, the decision should be put off for further investigation, study, and exchange of opinion followed by another vote; in special circumstances, the controversy may be reported to the next higher party organization for a ruling."

3. The following paragraph is added at the end of Article 19: "The powers and functions of the national conference of party representatives are as follows: To discuss and make decisions on major questions; and to replace members and elect additional members of the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission, and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. The number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee to be replaced or newly elected shall not exceed one-fifth of the respective totals of members and alternate members of the Central Committee elected by the National Congress of the party."

4. Paragraph 1 of Article 21 reads: "The Political Bureau, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, and the General Secretary of the Party Central Committee are elected by the Central Committee in plenary session." This is changed to read: "The

Political Bureau, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, and the General Secretary of the Party Central Committee are elected by the Central Committee in plenary session."

Paragraph 3 of Article 21 reads: "The Secretariat attends to the day-to-day work of the Central Committee under the direction of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee." This is changed to read: "The Secretariat is the working office of the Central Committee's Political Bureau and its Standing Committee. Its members are nominated by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and approved by the plenary session of the Central Committee."

Paragraph 5 of Article 21 reads: "The members of the Military Commission of the Central Committee are decided on by the Central Committee. The chairman of the Military Commission must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau." This is changed to read: "The members of the Military Commission of the Central Committee are decided on by the Central Committee."

5. Paragraph 2 of Article 22 reads: "The Central Advisory Commission is elected for a term of the same duration as that of the Central Committee. It elects, at its plenary meeting, its Standing Committee and its chairman and vice chairmen, and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. The chairman of the Central Advisory Commission must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau." This is changed to read: "The Central Advisory Commission is elected for a term of the same duration as that of the Central Committee. It elects, at its plenary meeting, its Standing Committee and its chairman and vice chairmen, and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval."

6. Paragraph 1 of Article 30 reads: "Primary party organizations are formed in factories, shops, schools, offices, city neighborhoods, people's communes, cooperatives, farms, townships, towns, companies of the People's Liberation Army, and other basic units, where there are three or more full party members." This is changed to read: "Primary party organizations are formed in factories, shops, schools, offices, city neighborhoods, cooperatives, farms, townships, towns, villages, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other basic units, where there are three or more full party members."

7. At the beginning of Paragraph 1 of Article 33 is appended the following passage: "Basic-level party organizations of enterprises and establishments that implement the system of responsibility of administrative chiefs provide assured supervision for the implementation of party and state principles and policies in their respective units. These basic-level party organizations should concentrate their efforts mainly on strengthening party building and doing a good job of ideological and political work and work among the masses; support

the responsible administrative staff in fully exercising their powers in accordance with regulations; and offer opinions and suggestions on important issues."

Paragraph 1 of Article 33 reads: "In an enterprise or institution, the primary party committee, or the general branch committee or branch committee, where there is no primary party committee, gives leadership in the work of its own unit." This is changed to read: "In an institution where the system of administrative leader assuming full responsibility is not yet practiced, the primary party committee, or the general branch committee or branch committee where there is no primary party committee, gives the leadership in the work of its own unit."

8. Paragraph 3 of Article 43 reads: "The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection elects, in plenary session, its Standing Committee and secretary and deputy secretaries and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. Local commissions for discipline inspection at all levels elect, at their plenary sessions, their respective standing committees and secretaries and deputy secretaries. The results of the elections are subject to endorsement by the party committees at the corresponding levels and should be reported to the higher party committees for approval. The first secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau." This is changed to read: "The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection elects, in plenary session, its Standing Committee and secretary and deputy secretaries and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. Local commissions for discipline inspection at all levels elect, at their plenary sessions, their respective standing committees and secretaries and deputy secretaries. The results of the elections are subject to endorsement by the party committees at the corresponding levels and should be reported to the higher party committees for approval."

9. Article 46 reads: "A leading party members' group shall be formed in the leading body of a central or local state organ, people's organization, economic or cultural institution, or other nonparty unit." This is changed to read: "A leading party members' group may be formed in the elected leading body of a central or local people's congress, CPPCC or mass organization, or other non-party organization."

10. Article 48 reads: "The Central Committee of the party shall determine specifically the functions, powers, and tasks of the leading party members' group in those government departments which need to exercise highly centralized and unified leadership over subordinate units; it shall also determine whether such groups should be replaced by party committees." This is changed to read: "The Central Committee of the party shall determine specifically whether a party committee should be set up in those government departments which need to

exercise highly centralized and unified leadership over subordinate units, and also determine specifically the functions, powers, and tasks of the party committee."

#### **Namelist of Members of the 13th CPC Central Committee (175 persons)**

*Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 p 30*

This information was published in its entirety in FBIS-CHI-87-211 p 23.

#### **Namelist of Alternate Members of the 13th CPC Central Committee (110 persons)**

*Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 pp 30-31*

This information was published in its entirety in FBIS-CHI-87-211 p 24.

#### **Namelist of the CPC Central Advisory Commission (200 persons)**

*Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 p 31*

This information was published in its entirety in FBIS-CHI-87-211 pp 23-24.

#### **Namelist of the CPC Central Discipline Inspection Commission (69 persons)**

*Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 p 32*

This information was published in its entirety in FBIS-CHI-87-211 p 24.

#### **Resolution on the Work Report of the Central Advisory Commission, Adopted by the 13th CPC National Congress (1 November 1987)**

*OW010537 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87 p 32*

[Text] The 13th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party has approved the work report of the Central Advisory Commission, and has expressed satisfaction over the important work done by the commission over the past 5 years.

The congress hopes that the commission will continue to act as a political consultant and assistant to the party Central Committee in accordance with the requirement of the party Constitution, and under the guidance of the party's basic line, promote the reform of the economic and political structures, help make the members of leading organs and cadres' ranks younger and strive to build up China's great Marxist party and build socialism with Chinese characteristics.



**Resolution on the Work Report of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, Adopted by the 13th CPC National Congress (1 November 1987)**

*OW010529 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 21, 4 Nov 87 p 32*

[Text] The 13th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party has approved the work report of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

The commission has done much work and made important contributions to the building of the party since the 12th National Party Congress.

The congress urges the central and local discipline inspection commissions at all levels to do a still better job in discipline inspection in accordance with the requirements of the party Constitution and the report of the 12th Central Committee approved by the congress. Party committees at all levels should strengthen leadership of discipline inspection, enhance education among the party members in party spirit and discipline, be strict with party members, and strive to improve party building in the process of the reform and opening to the outside world.

**Communique of the 1st Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee (2 November 1987)**

*HK021014 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 21, 4 Nov 87 p 33*

[Text] The 13th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its first plenary session on 2 November 1987.

Comrade Zhao Ziyang presided over the session. Attending were 173 members and 106 alternate members of the Central Committee. Members of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection were present.

The session elected the members and an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, the members of the bureau's Standing Committee and the general secretary of the party's Central Committee.

The session approved the nomination of the members and an alternate member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee by the Political Bureau's Standing Committee. It decided on the appointment of the chairman, first vice chairman and permanent vice chairman of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee.

The namelists are as follows:

**1. Full members of the Political Bureau (in the order of the number of strokes in surnames)**

Wan Li, Tian Jiyun, Qiao Shi, Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Li Tieying, Li Ruihuan, Li Ximing, Yang Rudai, Yang Shangkun, Wu Xueqian, Song Ping, Zhao Ziyang, Hu Qili, Hu Yaobang, Yao Yilin, and Qin Jiwei;

Alternate member of the Political Bureau: Ding Guangen.

**2. Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau**

Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Hu Qili, and Yao Yilin.

**3. General secretary of the party Central Committee**

Zhao Ziyang.

**4. Full members of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee**

Hu Qili, Qiao Shi, Rui Xingwen, and Yan Mingfu;

Alternate member of the Secretariat: Wen Jiabao.

**5. Chairman of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee**

Deng Xiaoping

First vice chairman of the commission: Zhao Ziyang;

Permanent vice chairman: Yang Shangkun.

The session approved the election of the chairman, vice chairmen and members of the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Commission carried out at the commission's first plenary session. The namelist is as follows:

Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission: Chen Yun;

Vice chairmen: Bo Yibo and Song Renqiong;

Members of the Standing Committee of the commission (in the order of the number of strokes in surnames): Wang Ping, Wang Shoudao, Wu Xiuquan, Liu Lantao, Jiang Hua, Li Yimang, Li Desheng, Yang Dezhi, Xiao Ke, Yu Qiuli, Song Renqiong, Song Shilun, Zhang Jingfu, Zhang Aiping, Lu Dingyi, Chen Yun, Chen Pixian, Chen Xilian, Hu Qiaomu, Duan Junyi, Geng Biao, Ji Pengfei, Huang Hua, Huang Zhen, Kang Shi'en, Cheng Zihua, and Bo Yibo.

The session approved the election of the secretary, deputy secretaries and members of the Standing Committee of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection carried out at the commission's first plenum. The namelist is as follows:

Secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection: Qiao Shi;

Deputy secretaries of the commission: Chen Zuolin, Li Zhengting, and Xiao Hongda.

Members of the Standing Committee of the commission (in the order of the number of strokes in surnames): Wang Deying, Qiao Shi, Liu Liying, Li Zhengting, Xiao Hongda, Chen Zuolin, Guo Linxiang, and Fu Jie.

Zhao Ziyang delivered an important speech at the end of the session.

**Persistently Implement the Party's Basic Line for the Initial Stage of Socialism**

HK270200 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese  
No 21, 4 Nov 87, pp 34-37

[Editorial]

[Text] The 13th CPC National Congress, which attracted the world's attention, has successfully concluded.

This was a congress for reform and opening up. It was a congress for summing up and advancing reform, and carrying forward the spirit of reform. Reform has brought a completely new look to the vast land of China. The past 9 years from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to the 13th Party Congress marked a period in which our nation advanced in giant strides. Reform has not only made obvious successes in China, but has also brought a high hope of future and present bright prospects to the Chinese people. The people of all nationalities throughout the country are heartily happy over the complete success of the 13th Party Congress. They are greatly inspired and encouraged by the spirit of the congress.

The report delivered by the CPC Congress on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and passed by the congress is a greatly important historic document of our party for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The report firmly grasps the central task of economic construction, resolutely advances all-round reform and the opening-up policy, and effectively promotes our work in all fields. The report includes splendid theoretical summary. It also scientifically expounds the initial stage of socialism where China is now situated, correctly specifies the party's basic line for this stage, and put forth the basic policies for economic construction and for the economic and political structural reforms according to the basic line. The report to the 13th Party Congress is a programmatic document for guiding our all-round reform and socialist modernization. The party's main tasks after the congress are to earnestly organize the study of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report, firmly speed up and deepen the reforms, and bring the thinking and action of the whole party and whole nation into line with the party's basic line in the initial stage of socialism.

The theory about the initial stage of socialism currently in our country is the result of our party's repeated study of China's national conditions and socialism. It is the foundation for all other conclusions and decisions in the report to the 13th Party Congress. It is of great and far-reaching significance in both theory and practice for the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. In the classical works of Marxism, we cannot find a ready answer to the question of how to build socialism in such a country as China. Fortunately, through many twists and turns, the communists in China have finally found our own road through combining the universal truth of Marxism with China's reality. In the past more than 60 years, our party has made two major historic leaps forward in combining Marxism with China's reality. The first was made in the new democratic revolution, after the rightist mistakes and especially the "leftist" mistakes caused great losses to the revolution. Mao Zedong led our party to apply the universal truth of Marxism to profoundly analyze the character, characteristics, and basic contradiction of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society of China. This enabled us to correctly find the answer to a series of fundamental questions concerning the character, tasks, targets, and motive forces of the Chinese revolution, and creatively founding the strategy of seizing the countryside first to encircle the cities. This theory fully respected China's reality and based everything on China's national conditions. It enabled us to win the victory of the democratic revolution and smoothly enter the historical stage of socialism. The second historical leap forward was made after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. On the basis of summing up the positive and negative historical experiences and studying the international experience and the world's situation, our party found the road for the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The theory about the initial stage of socialism is the concentrated demonstration of the second leap forward. After the basic accomplishment of the socialist transformation in 1956, because we did not correctly realize the nature of the current historical stage of socialism in our country and the main contradiction and fundamental task in this stage, our guiding ideas were divorced from China's reality and we were bogged down in "leftist" mistakes for a long time. We have paid heavy costs for this. After the Third Plenary Session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping showed courage and realistic spirit in developing Marxist theory. He led our party to restore the ideological line of seeking truth from facts with his rich experience and keen insight. He also earnestly practiced what he advocated, and put forth a series of scientific theoretical viewpoints and major policy decisions on the basis of China's current conditions. This formed the framework of the theory about building socialism with Chinese characteristics, provided the answer to a series of basic questions concerning the stage, tasks, motive forces, conditions, arrangements, and international environment of our socialist construction, and charted a correct course ahead for us. This represents a new development of Marxism.

The initial stage of socialism currently in our country is an objective reality that will not change according to people's subjective wishes. China's socialism was not born out of a capitalist society, but out of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Our country did not experience a stage where the commodity economy was fully developed. The level of productive forces in our country lags far behind that of developed capitalist countries. So it is inevitable for our country to go through an initial stage of socialism. This is a special historical stage determined by the specific conditions of our country. It is not a pattern described by the classics of Marxism or a model copied from other socialist countries which have experienced a capitalist stage. So we must proceed from the reality of our country, take our own road, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is a conclusion drawn from our entire historical experience. As some deputies to the 13th Party Congress said, the theory about the initial stage of socialism represents the latest development and a major breakthrough of scientific socialism, is the scientific summary of China's national conditions, and a vivid demonstration of the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. It is based on the systematic summing-up of the party's historical experience since the founding of the People's Republic and on the concentration of the wisdom of the whole party.

The correct understanding of the historical stage in which our society is now situated is the primary question in the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is also the theoretical foundation and starting point for the formulation of the party's basic line and all principles and policies. In the final analysis, the party's line, principles, and policies since the third plenary session are correct. They can play a great role in promoting the development of social productive forces, because they were formulated in accordance with China's national conditions in the current stage. Only with a correct starting point can our ideas be really realistic. The report to the 13th Party Congress clearly points out: "Our party's basic line for building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the initial stage of socialism is as follows: To lead the Chinese people of all nationalities in a united, self-reliant, intensive, and pioneering effort to turn China into a prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and modern socialist country by making economic development the central task while adhering to the four cardinal principles and persevering in reform and the open policy." This basic line carries forward, enriches, and develops the party line since the third plenary session. Why must we take this rather than another line? This is because the basic characteristic of the initial stage of socialism is the backwardness of productive forces and the incompleteness of modernization. The premise for this initial stage is that socialism is not established on the basis of modernization, but is established before modernization is realized. Therefore, all strength must be concentrated on developing productive forces and all efforts be made to fulfill the central task of economic construction. What we will realize is

socialist modernization, so we must uphold the four cardinal principles with a clear-cut attitude. Because our modernization will be realized under China's special historical conditions (we have undergone 20 years' twists and turns and formed an ossified and close structure), we must resolutely carry out the general policy of reform and opening up. The central task and the two basic points represent the main experience we have summed up and the main formula we will use for the initial stage of socialism. When implementing the basic line in our practical work, we must at no time forget the fundamental task of developing our productive forces. The yardstick to judge whether the two basic points are properly combined is the development conditions of the productive forces. If we deviate from the central task of economic construction and do things unfavorable to the development of the productive forces, then we will have divorced ourselves from the reality in the initial stage of socialism and violated the party's basic line in this stage.

In order to make the party's basic line for the initial stage of socialism strike root in people's minds and to put it into practice, we need to carry out a round of ideological education in the basic line in the whole party. The party's basic line is a guide to our work in all fields in the initial stage of socialism. In the course of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we will continuously enrich and develop our concrete policies in all fields, and there will certainly be changes in these policies. In our practical work, we may sometimes emphasize one or the other aspect of some issues. However, the party's basic line, that is, the central task and the two basic points, will never be changed. This is the foundation for the long-term stability of our policies, and is the yardstick to judge whether there is any deviation in our practical work. Only by tightly grasping the party's basic line can we be more conscious in our practical work and can we prevent blindness and vacillation and become firmer. Various localities, departments, and units, and our work in various fields have their special characteristics, and they should be creative in implementing the party's line, principles, and policies. However, in no case can they deviate from the guidance of the party's basic line. If we merely remember some concrete policies and the party's specific guideline for a certain field of our work and forget the party's basic line and the party's general line and general policy when dealing with some practical work, then we will lose our bearings and go awry to the "left" or to the right in our work. In the past, we mainly committed the "leftist" mistakes, and "leftism" had deep-rooted influence. Therefore, when carrying our reform, our main efforts for a long time to come should be made to overcome the ossified ideas; at the same time, we should not relax vigilance against bourgeois liberalization.

For taking the party's basic line as a guide, the most prominent issue is to intensely and properly advance reform and opening up. Reform and opening up represent the general policy that we will pursue for a long time. We must persistently carry out reform in order to



fulfill the central task of economic construction, to fully develop the productive forces, and to fully demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system as soon as possible. We need to reform both the economic structure and the political structure. Opening up is also a major part of our reform. In the past, when practicing socialism, we merely stuck to the envision of Marx and Engels about socialism in theory, and copied the model of the Soviet Union in practice. Because we were too anxious to achieve quick results and to seek unrealistic perfection, we did many things by divorcing our thinking from the reality and by trying to step over the current stage, and added many erroneous things to socialism. The label of "socialist principles" was attached to many things that impeded the development of productive forces and that did not bear the nature of socialism or were merely suited to certain special historical conditions, and then stubbornly maintained such things. On the other hand, the label of "capitalist restoration" was attached to many things that were in fact favorable to the development of the productive forces and to the commercialization, socialization, and modernization of production, and such things were violently opposed. In fact, such things do not exclusively exist in capitalism, but can also serve socialism. In the past, they were simply treated as some forbidden areas, and no one dared to mention them. Under such circumstances and conditions, we gradually formed a excessively monolithic ownership structure and a rigid and ossified economic structure, and also formed a political structure with power too highly centralized. All this seriously obstructed the development of the productive forces and the socialist commodity economy. At the same time, we should also be aware that in the current international environment, we are facing a stern challenge and also facing an unprecedented opportunity. Our practice in the past 9 years has shown without reform and opening up, we will have no way out, and will not be able to meet the people's growing needs in their material and cultural lives. Reform and opening up have a direct bearing on the destiny of the whole nation. If we do not speed up and deepen the reforms and do not endeavor to change the poor and backward conditions in our country, we will not be able to hold a major position in today's world, still less can we demonstrate the superiority of socialism. Therefore, we must reform all things that are no longer suited to the conditions in the initial stage of socialism and all the systems, models, and concepts that obstruct the development of the productive forces, and must at the same time, gradually establish and develop the socialist economic, political, and cultural structures that are full of vigor and that can promote the development of the productive forces and the socialist commodity economy, as well as the corresponding ideas, concepts, methods of working, and living style. This is a long-term arduous and complicated task we must fulfill. We must persistently carry our reform and open up throughout the entire initial stage of socialism. All of our work must be adapted to the needs of reform and opening up, and must be favorable to the advances of reform and opening up.

An important new part of the decision made by the 13th Party Congress is to include the political structural reform in the work schedule and to clearly stipulate the target, principles, and steps of the political structural reform. On the basis of full democracy, the congress elected the new central leading organs of the party, and made the average age of the party leading organs younger. This is a major part of the political structural reform, and it also effectively promotes the political structural reform and speeds up the pace of all-round reform. The long-term and short-term purpose of the political structural reform is to ensure the people's full democratic right. Compared with the economic structural reform, the political structural reform is more extensive, more complicated, and more difficult. The building of socialist democratic politics must be advanced gradually and steadily through an evolutionary process in a resolute and prudent manner under the guidance of the central leadership.

In order to quicken and deepen the reforms under the guidance of the party's basic line, all comrades of our party are required to work hard without fearing the difficulties and to be ready to make sacrifices for the great cause of reform. They must be able to stand the test of being members of a ruling party and the test of reform and opening up. Since reform and opening up represent a change of old system into new systems, there will certainly be adjustments of power and interest, relations and changes in people's ideas, mentality, working style, and living habits, so it is inevitable that reform and opening up will encounter extremely complicated social contradictions and unavoidable obstacles. Now, only very few people stubbornly oppose reform, and most people agree with reform. However, the long-standing influence of "leftist" ideas and the habitual force formed under the old systems will frequently come into friction with reform. Some people may first idealize the reform, and once they find some actual problems in the reform and see their personal interests being affected, they may be apt to become frustrated and disappointed, and may even feel disgruntled with reform. Party organizations at various levels must be fully aware of such a state of affairs, and must effectively strengthen their ideological and political work. In the course of reform, we should attach great importance to the inspiring, stimulating, and rallying role of the mental force, and should help people enhance their theoretical understanding of reform and raise their psychological bearing capacity by making full use of facts and the justification of our cause. We not only should tell the people about the achievements of the reform and the bright prospects, but should also tell them about the actual difficulties in advancing the reform and the solutions. We should help people treat reform in a realistic manner rather than idealizing the reform. We should make people understand that all reforms we are carrying out will eventually bring benefit and happiness to the people, but this does not mean that all people can get benefit from each reform measure at the same time. Instead, some people may get more and faster benefits than other people, and some people's

immediate interests may even be affected for a short time. We should actively carry out consultation and dialogue activities in society, and make the activities of our leading organs as open as possible. The general public should be informed of the state of major affairs and be allowed to discuss the major affairs so that they can strengthen the sense of participation in the reform and the sense of responsibility as masters, and can link their personal well-being with the reform. The party should be effectively consolidated in the course of reform. All members and cadres of the party should accurately and fully understand the party's basic line, and bring their thinking and action into line with this basic line. The reforms inside the party should play an exemplary role in reform in society; and inner-party democracy should promote democracy in society. The Communist Party members should use their exemplary action in the reform to help the people correctly treat the reform. Under the conditions of reform and opening up, it is certain that a small number of party members will seek private gains by making use of the position of being a member of the ruling party and the power in their hands, thus failing to stand the tests. So the anti-corruption struggle inside the party must be carried out continuously. We must strictly enforce party discipline, effectively guarantee the party's purity, check the unhealthy tendencies of using official power to seek private gains so as to raise the party's vigor and the party's prestige among the people and to unite and lead the people to participate in the reform.

The maintenance and development of the stable and united political situation is a basic condition for implementing the party's basic line and fulfilling the great tasks put forth by the 13th Party Congress. Because we correctly adhered to the four cardinal principles and the general policy for reform and opening up in the previous period, we have properly handled various social contradictions, promptly overcome the disturbances from both "leftism" and rightism, and further consolidated and developed the stable and united political situation in the whole country. This is never easy. We should fully realize and cherish this mainstream of our work. Practice has repeatedly shown that we cannot carry out reform and construction in a disorderly environment. Without a stable and united political situation, we cannot accomplish anything. All Communist Party members and all Chinese citizens should consciously maintain the stable and united situation. Through the 13th Party Congress, the party's basic line and various policies have become clearer and more perfect, so the foundation for the unity of the whole party and the whole nation will become more solid. So long as we firmly pursue the party's basic line for the initial stage of socialism, continue to emancipate our minds, boldly make explorations, work with one heart and one mind, boost our spirits, and work in a down-to-earth manner to break fresh ground, our grand cause will certainly win greater new victories.

## Historical Achievements and New Challenges

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[Article by Zheng Bijian [6774 1801 1017]]

[Text]

### I

The first part of the report to the 13th Party Congress explicitly raises two major questions to the whole party: One is to confirm that the 9 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee "signified a new stage in the historical development of the party": the other is to clearly point out that "we are facing pressing and severe challenges."

The report to the 13th Party Congress explicitly points out: "It will be impossible for our country to acquire its deserved position in the world" unless we are alert, unite as one, and make great efforts to catch up with the advanced countries.

These remarks clearly tell people:

Although our party has achieved great historical achievements after making great efforts for 9 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party will not become complacent and will firmly and clear-headedly face realities in the future.

At the second step of building socialist modernization, which is an important historical juncture in the history of our party, our party still continues to bravely forge ahead and face new challenges in a down-to-earth manner.

We think that this is the Marxist, revolutionary, and scientific mental attitude that runs through the entire report to the 13th Party Congress.

### II

About 9 years ago, shortly after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was concluded, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a speech entitled "Adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles," in which he stressed the importance of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said:

"Although we have carried out socialist construction for many years, we still have sufficient reason to say that what we have done is only the beginning of a new historical development period."

The development over the past 9 years has fully proved Comrade Deng Xiaoping's far-sighted and scientific foresight.

It is necessary to carry out comparison between different things. Over the past 9 years, in which a new stage in the historical development of our party began, what have been the new phenomena that are of great importance and are capable of affecting the reality of China's socialism that did not exist or were not fully developed in the past?"

People can see: The period characterized by the practice of "taking class struggle as the key link," the continuous political movements that made people suffer, the tense atmosphere within our party and our people, the domestic turbulence, and so on has already passed. The general national situation characterized by taking economic construction as the central task and resolutely carrying out economic structural reform, political structural reform, and the building of the spiritual civilization has already taken shape. The situation characterized by stability, democracy, and unity has been consolidated and further developed. For a long time since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the whole party and people throughout the country have always concentrated their efforts on economic construction, and all the work of our party and the state has been centered on the economic construction of our country. This situation is unprecedented in the history of the PRC.

People can see that the period characterized by the disproportionate national economy, poor performance in production, and unstable and exaggerated economic development is now over. We have attached strategic importance to the development of agriculture, energy, communications, and raw materials, have rapidly developed the productive forces of our country, and have greatly strengthened the economic strength of our country so that we have now basically enabled our national economy to develop in a sustained, stable, and proportionate way. Over the past 9 years, the average annual growth rate of the total industrial and agricultural production output value was approximately 10 percent, exceeding that of the 26 years before. Moreover, there is not much difference between each of the annual growth rates of the total industrial and agricultural production output values of our country over the past 9 years, compared with those of the 26 preceding years.

People can see that the long-standing problems, such as the large population of unemployed, the large number of poor and relatively poor areas, the short supply of consumer goods, and the potential social crises, have been basically solved. The majority of our country's 1 billion people now have enough to eat and wear. The number of urban residents recently employed has reached 70 million. The market supply in the urban and rural areas has greatly improved. The proportion of high-income households is increasing, the proportion of low-income households is decreasing. The overall situation of our country is improving. The people of our country have begun to embark on the road toward

common prosperity. It is indeed marvelous for such a big backward country like ours, with its population of 1 billion, to have made such great progress within only a few years.

People can see that the situation characterized by no intercourse between China and foreign countries and no exchange between various parts of our country has ended. Our country has put an end to its isolated status and to its ossified economic and political structures. The coastal open areas, which stretch over several thousand [i] along the coast of our country, have gradually been formed. Our country's total import and export volumes have increased by several times. Our country has been inviting more and more foreign funds. The policy of opening up to the outside world, which is the basic national policy of our country, has enjoyed popular support among the people. The socialist commodity economy in the urban and rural areas of our country has experienced rapid development. Economic circulation and lateral economic associations have developed into a wider scope. The socialist unified market is continuously expanding and is becoming increasingly prosperous and brisk. Economic structural reform has caused many changes in our country's economy and social life. As far as the depth of the reform is concerned, economic structural reform is another revolution since the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production was completed. During our practice, we have deepened our understanding of the necessity, protracted nature, and complexity of this revolution.

People can see that the period in which intellectuals were treated as an "alien-class force," discriminated against, and cracked down upon has now ended. The situation in which the educational, scientific, and cultural circles were the first "target" to be attacked in "class struggle" no longer exists. A general social mood characterized by respect for knowledge and for qualified and educated people has now gradually been formed. The educational, scientific, cultural, and public health undertakings of our country have also experienced unprecedented development. The broad masses of the intellectuals can now wholeheartedly and diligently study and do research work in a continuously stable environment. The broad masses of intellectuals have made an unprecedented large number of achievements in academic and scientific research so that they have made great contributions to the building of socialist modernization in our country.

People can also see that our country has made unprecedented progress in the building of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, the building of socialist spiritual civilization, the building of national defense, and in developing friendly relations with other countries. All these have greatly contributed to our country's socialist construction and the course of reform.

Over the past 9 years, on the basis of these historical achievements, China has "doubled" its GNP, its state revenue, and the average income of urban and rural

residents while vigorously developing its national economy. The past 9 years is a period in which China has vigorously developed. China's national strength has been rapidly expanded, and the Chinese people have gained the most benefits. Therefore, we have full confidence in attaining the strategic goal of "quadruplication" by the end of this century.

However, China also suffered some setbacks and mistakes during this period, so we cannot say that this period is absolutely perfect. China still has defects, mistakes, and problems and still faces many difficulties. However, as far as the overall situation is concerned, China is making great efforts to solve its various problems, especially the interference of the "leftist" ideology and the interference of the rightist ideology. Over the past year, because the struggle against bourgeois liberalization has been healthy, we have accumulated new experiences in opposing erroneous ideologies by carrying out positive education and correct criticism and we have put an end to the practice of solving problems by launching political movements.

All the new phenomena that have emerged over the past 9 years are of great historical importance. These new phenomena are not partial and local phenomena, but are the dominant phenomena in the economy, politics, and social life of contemporary China. These new phenomena are reliable phenomena that will continuously develop.

For this reason, the 13th Party Congress practically pointed out that the past 9 years have begun a new period in the historical development of our party.

### III

Since there have been no fundamental changes in terms of population and natural resources of our country, how could these great changes have taken place?

The fundamental change is the change of our party's line. The 13th Party Congress stressed that the practice of the past 9 years has proved that the line followed by our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is a correct Marxist line. This line is the crystallization of the wisdom of the party and the people and the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CPC Central Committee. In the meantime, the 13th Party Congress stressed that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made important contributions to the formation and development of this line.

What have we done over the past 9 years?

In short, the greatest achievement of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which was convened at the end of 1978, lies in smashing the fetters of the "two whatevers"; restoring the ideological line of proceeding from actual conditions, seeking truth from facts, and taking practice as the sole criterion of truth;

shifting the focus of the work of the whole party to the building of socialist modernization; and putting forward in principle the demand for economic structural reform and political structural reform. While stressing ideological emancipation, in the spring of 1979, in view of the emergence of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, the CPC Central Committee for the first time generalized the political orientation to which we should adhere into the "four cardinal principles" and systematically and explicitly put forward the "four cardinal principles" to the whole party and the people of the whole country. That was a great historical turning point in the history of our party and also the starting point of all the progress and changes we have made over the past 9 years. The "four cardinal principles" have provided a correct track and a correct orientation for all the progress and changes we have made over the past 9 years.

First, the people's concepts have begun to change. In the ideological field, our party has resolutely smashed the fetters of the personality cult and dogmatism which had formed over the past many years, reestablished the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts, restored the true colors of Mao Zedong Thought, and adhered to and developed Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions.

Second, the organizational readjustment has gradually been carried out. The leading bodies of party and state organs at various levels have gradually been readjusted, rectified, and strengthened as planned. As far as the overall situation is concerned, the political quality and professional quality of the leading bodies of the party and state organizations at various levels have been greatly improved. All leading bodies at various levels have become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent. This is indeed a great achievement.

Third, economic structural reform has gradually developed. Economic structural reform first made a breakthrough in the rural areas. The 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee put forward the task of "overall reform." So far, we have started economic structural reform, educational structural reform, scientific and technological structural reform, and political structural reform. The 13th Party Congress has also made specific plans for political structural reform.

The profound changes in people's concepts, the party and state organizations, and the economic, educational, scientific and technological, and political structures have greatly advanced with the emancipation of our national spirit and greatly promoted the development of the socialist productive forces of our country.

Here, we should point out that over the past 9 years, while explicitly advocating "ideological emancipation" and the policies of reform and opening up, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has also explicitly advocated "adherence to the four cardinal principles." Moreover, in the course



of development of construction and reform. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has on many occasions repeatedly pointed out that efforts must be made to "grasp two things at one time": Grasp economic construction and the building of the socialist legal system at one time; grasp the work of opening up to the outside world and the work of cracking down on economic crimes at one time; grasp the building of material civilization and the building of spiritual civilization at one time. In a word, to adhere to the four cardinal principles and to adhere to the general principle of reform and opening up to the outside world are the two basic points that have run through the entire course of our country's development and the entire line followed by our party over the past 9 years.

Precisely as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his speech made in July of this year: "To carry out the building of socialist modernization is the basic line. In order to carry out the building of the modernizations and greatly develop China, we must first implement the policies of reform and opening up to the outside world; second, we must adhere to the four cardinal principles, mainly to adhere to the party's leadership, adhere to the socialist road, oppose bourgeois liberalization, and oppose taking the capitalist road. These two basic points are interdependent."

People have deeply felt that over the past 9 years, whenever we take a step forward, Comrade Deng Xiaoping always gives us practical and most valuable instructions on making policies concerning major issues, and in so doing, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has fully demonstrated his Marxist theoretical courage, rich experiences, foresight and sagacity, and his spirit of seeking truth from facts.

#### IV

What we should think about is: Why did our country experience many setbacks and suffer serious failures, and why had our country's economy been on the brink of collapse for some 20 years before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee? And why, under the guidance of the line formulated by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, have we succeeded in changing the past situation and creating a new situation within only 9 years? What on earth is the most profound and most lasting internal motive force that has pushed forward with the rapid economic and social development of our country?

Or, what is the "secret" behind all these changes?

The ideology, the line, and the various types of structures have all played an important role. That the leading cadres at various levels have become younger in average age and have made great efforts to promote these changes have also played an important role. In the final

analysis, the most important factor is that the vitality of the human beings, the internal vitality of the economy, and the vitality of the socialist system have begun to be emancipated.

The continued expansion of the decisionmaking power of our country's millions of socialist commodity producers and the continued development of the socialist commodity economy and the domestic market are the most solid basis and the internal motive force that have guaranteed the continued emancipation of the above-mentioned vitality.

Nowadays, if you go to the urban and rural markets and if you go to the township and town enterprises, which spread over the vast rural areas, cities, and towns, you will certainly find that our socialist domestic market established on the basis of the unprecedented expansion of the decisionmaking power of the commodity producers is promoting the rapid development of our entire national economy.

Apart from the "three doublings" in the development of our country's national economy, there is also another doubling that can be seen in: First, in 1986, the total volume of industrial products purchased by commerce under the system of ownership by the whole people and by the supply and marketing cooperatives reached 282.5 billion yuan, an increase of 120 percent compared with that of 1978, with the average rate of increase reaching 10.6 percent; in 1986, the total volume of farm and sideline products purchased by society reached 199 billion yuan, an increase of 260 percent compared with that of 1978, with the average annual rate of increase reaching 17.2 percent.

Second, "circulation promotes four types of development," which means the invigoration of circulation promotes the development of the state economy, the collective economy, the township and town economy, and the individual economy, which in turn greatly expands the division of work in our society, especially in the vast rural areas. Some 80 million rural labor workers have been transferred or partly transferred to nonagricultural industries. This has not only helped to enable the millions of peasants to shake off poverty and become better-off, but has also demonstrated a major change in the division of labor in Chinese society. The change itself has determined that the continued expansion of our domestic market and commodity economy is an irresistible historical necessity.

Third, as a result of the further development of reform, millions of agricultural commodity producers who are given decisionmaking powers in their own operations and are placed under the system of responsibility linked to production, and millions of industrial enterprises that are given decisionmaking powers in their operation have been able to smash the fetters and play an increasingly

important role in the development of our national economy by relying on their internal active force, not on external guidance or regulation.

From the above-mentioned facts, we can reach the following conclusion: Such a vast, vigorous, and continuously expanding domestic market is bringing into play the internal vitality of our country's entire socialist economy. This situation has fundamentally guaranteed that the goal of realizing the four modernizations will certainly be fulfilled.

In a speech delivered in November 1982, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that a Westerner once asked him the question: Will the world economic depression adversely affect the realization of the four modernizations in China? Comrade Xiaoping said: I told my foreign friend: We have estimated and reached the conclusion that China itself is a vast market. I used the example: There are 800 million peasants in China's rural areas. If each peasant earns an additional 100 yuan, we will need to supply an additional 80 billion yuan of industrial products. So, the world economic depression will have an impact on us, but it will certainly not affect us too much, and our plan to realize the four modernizations will still be accomplished.

In the same year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said: China has a vast domestic market. So, generally speaking, it is still possible for us to attain the goal of realizing the four modernizations because the goal of realizing the four modernizations is not a hollow and false goal, but a practical one.

In June 1987, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delightedly pointed out: The greatest and totally unexpected achievement is the rapid development of the township and town enterprises and the rapid development of a large number of small enterprises engaged in the diversified economy and commodity economy. The development of the township and town enterprises, especially the development of various industries and various other professions and trades, has provided jobs to 50 percent of the surplus labor force in the rural areas. Now, the surplus labor force in the rural areas no longer wants to move to the cities. Also, a large number of small and new-type townships and towns has emerged. If we say that we have made some achievements in this respect, we owe our achievements to the central authorities' policy of invigorating the domestic economy. That the policy of invigorating the domestic economy has achieved good results has made us realize that we have done a very good job.

Here, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also pointed out that the question of domestic market and commodity economy in the course of building socialist modernization is a fundamental, overall, and strategic concept. In the period of the democratic revolution, our party succeeded in mobilizing the tens of millions of peasants to finally overthrow the three big mountains by implementing the

correct program on resolving China's land problem. Today, in the period of building socialist modernization, our party has succeeded in greatly and continuously bringing into full play the internal motive force of our country's economy and mobilizing the vast majority of the working people to carry out production in width and depth by firmly grasping the question of the socialist commodity economy and domestic market.

In a word, on the basis of the vigorous development of the socialist commodity economy, China has begun to be invigorated and rejuvenated.

In a speech made in May 1987, Comrade Deng Xiaoping explicitly summarized: "After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, China really began to be invigorated and rejuvenated and to do some of the things people had hoped. Over the past 9 years since 1978, we have taken the first step on our new long march toward realizing the four modernizations."

Whether a party, state, nation, or society is invigorated or has vitality is a question of vital importance. Because we have adhered to both the four cardinal principles and the policies of reform and opening up to the outside world over the past 9 years, our socialism has gradually become truly vigorous socialism.

In the history of the development of China's socialism, the most valuable contribution we have made over the past 9 years is, in the final analysis, that we have made our socialism vigorous socialism.

## V

Since we are now facing many new challenges, we have no reason to be proud and complacent.

We have now taken the first of the three steps stipulated in our strategic plan to realize socialist modernization.

Over the past 9 years, we have achieved initial results in our reform. Our country's vitality has already been brought into play and will continue to be brought into play in the future. The various rules and regulations governing the invigoration of our domestic economy and the various laws guaranteeing the scientific management, supervision, and macroeconomic control have been formulated or have been further perfected. However, it is hardly possible for us to completely avoid the "throes" when the new structures are born. It is hardly possible for us to avoid the contradictions between various interests when the old structures are being replaced by new ones. It is hardly possible for us to avoid the various ideological differences when the old ideological concepts are being replaced by the new ones.

We should also understand that we face severe challenges from the outside world.

For 38 years since the founding of the PRC, the productive forces of our country have been greatly developed. Only 7 or 8 years ago, our country was still a "low-income country" in the world, but now our country has become a "medium-low-income developing country" in the world.

The absolute volume of our country's GNP now ranks fifth in the world. The steel, coal, and petroleum production output, electrical energy production output, and the production output of several main farm products of our country are now among the highest in the world. However, at the same time, we should also clearly understand that in terms of per capita GNP, per capita output of major industrial and agricultural products, the number of people each rural laborer can support, the standard of various basic facilities, the scientific and technological standard, the standard of the socialized and commercialized production, our country still lags far behind the advanced countries in the world.

"Modernization" should of course possess Chinese characteristics and be suitable to China's national conditions. However, the criterion of judging "modernization" is not a static and isolated concept, but is closely related with human civilization in the contemporary world. The criterion of judging "modernization" will exist and develop along with the development of the civilization of all the countries in the world, especially along with the development of the civilization of the developed countries in the world. We are not carrying out the building of "modernization" in the 17th, 18th, or 19th centuries; nor are we carrying out the building of "modernization" in the first half of the 20th century. We are carrying out the building of "modernization" in the last 20 years of the 20th century and will carry out the building of "modernization" in the first half of the 21st century. Under such circumstances, we will inevitably face the following two historical challenges:

First, we will face the challenge of the industrial revolution completed by the capitalist countries during some 200 years between the mid-18th and mid-20th centuries, which was characterized by the big machine industry and electrification.

Second, we will face the challenge of the new technological revolution which began in the 1970's and which is characterized by information technology, biological engineering, and new materials.

This situation means that we will not only try to catch up with the capitalist countries within the next 70 years or so, narrow the gap formed between our country and the capitalist countries over the past 2 or 3 centuries or at least over more than 1 century in the past, and realize industrialization, that is, the technological revolution of traditional industry. We will also try to make great efforts to participate in the new technological revolution within the next 70 years and try to reach the modernization level of the mid-21st century.

For this reason, the 13th Party Congress put forward the grand task of realizing both industrialization and modernization.

Here, we should add one more point: When we say we face new challenges, we not only mean that the gap between our country and the developed countries will be further widened if we do not make efforts to narrow it, but also that some countries that were initially more backward than our country have made or are making great efforts to catch up with the developed countries. This is also a type of challenge, or even a more practical and more severe challenge.

What we now face is worldwide comprehensive competition and challenge, characterized mainly by scientific and technological competition and competition in the development of the productive forces and centered on the economic, scientific, technological, military, political, ideological, and various other fields.

The new challenges are fraught with new opportunities and the possibilities of achieving great successes. However, the new challenges are also fraught with severe competition and greater pressure.

We must maintain sharp vigilance even when the entire situation is very favorable to us.

We should not forget the serious mistakes we have made and the lessons we have gained since the founding of the PRC.

Today, history again provides us with an excellent opportunity. This time, we will certainly not miss the good opportunity.

The 13th Party Congress has helped to further strengthen the vigilance of the whole party and the people of all nationalities of our country and has further strengthened the sense of pride and the sense of urgency of our nation.

The 13th Party Congress has formulated for us the correct theories and program on continuing to advance along the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

As a developing country, we lag behind many other countries in terms of the economic, cultural, scientific, technological, and many other fields. However, on the other hand, the law of unbalanced economic and political international development objectively exists, and the possibility of backward countries catching up with advanced countries and the possibility of the "up-and-coming countries gaining delayed but bigger profits" also objectively exists. In the history of capitalist development, some up-and-coming countries made use of the law of unbalanced economic and political international development and the possibility of "gaining delayed but bigger profits" and have thus successfully joined the ranks of the developed countries in the world within a

relatively short historical period. We should pay attention to this historical lesson. At present, so long as we adhere to the four cardinal principles and adhere to the general principle of reform and opening up to the outside world, we will certainly be able to better absorb all the achievements and civilization of the advanced countries in the world and learn more things from foreign countries on the basis of the socialist system and on the sound material basis we have established over the past 38 years since the founding of the PRC. We will also be able to turn our weak points into strong points.

All this is the basis on which our hope of developing and rejuvenating China within the next several decades lies.

### **Promote the Institutionalization of Socialist Democratic Politics in China**

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[Article by Wu Guoguang [0702 0948 0342] and Gao Shan [7559 1472]]

[Text]

#### **I**

Like any major social change in history, the continued deepening of the economic structural reforms in our country for over 8 years correspondingly require changes in the same direction to be made to the superstructure, and requires that political power provide institutional guarantees for the new social control and coordination forms. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "As our economic structural reform proceeds we shall inevitably encounter obstacles. It is true that there are people, both inside and outside the party, who are not in favor of the reform, but there are not many who strongly oppose it. The important thing is that our political structure does not meet the needs of the economic reform. Thus unless we modify our political structure we shall be unable to advance the economic reform, or even preserve the gains we have made so far." ("Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" revised and enlarged edition p 138)

The key part of our country's economic structural reform is the development of a socialist planned commodity economy. Developing a socialist commodity economy not only requires the reform of our previously highly-centralized economic structure, but also the establishment of a new-style political structure to accord with economic development and to promote the progress of the productive force. It can be said that the new economic model requires a new power deployment structure and new operation modes. First, under commodity economy conditions, the major undertakers of social material production should at the same time be able to relatively independently control the means of production, and be the main operators in respect of their products. Their powers of control, and the benefits produced by this

control, should be acknowledged in law. Promoting the change from the former situation where production management power was highly centralized in administrative organs, to where there are millions of commodity operation units will, compared to the original system, not only be a wide-ranging process of power distribution, but also a process of renewed affirmation of the power. Second, under commodity economy conditions, the realization of social division of labor and the material product exchange which comes from this, should mainly be carried out through the market and in accordance with the principle of compensated exchange at equal value. In the commodity market the relationship norms of autonomy and equality between the various commodity owners should be safeguarded. If we are to change the socioeconomic organizational and coordination measures from the previous top-to-bottom unitary administrative instructions to acting in accordance with market laws then, as far as the original system is concerned, there not only a need for changes in the organizational mechanisms with a series of concrete and complex unified standards. Through these changes the government in its economic management will no longer have to exercise direct management of enterprises through various specialized departments, but will manage the overall market through pricing, taxation, interest rates, exchange rates, and other economic levers. These changes to economic activities, and the new-style economic activity modes, will provide two major problems for the political structure.

1. The socialist commodity economy requires socialist democratic politics which accords with it. At the same time as the process of developing the socialist commodity economy is going on, there should be a process of building socialist democratic politics.

2. The socialist commodity economy requires stable and effective legal guarantees. This then requires the institutionalization of political activity and political structures. Coincident with development of the socialist commodity economy, there should also be a process underway by which sociopolitical standards which accord with the new economic models are established; that is, a process of political institutionalization.

If we look at these two points together, we can see that strongly promoting the institutionalization of our country's socialist democratic politics is an objective demand in development of the socialist planned commodity economy.

#### **II**

Institutionalization is, at the same time, an innate requirement in building socialist democratic politics. Regardless of whether we look at this from the theoretical or the practical level, and whether we see it in terms of summing up historical experiences and lessons or in analyzing the trends and requirements of current political progress, we can say that formulating various laws



and regulations in an overall and timely way so as to concretely acknowledge the contents of the various aspects of socialist democracy, and slowly moving towards institutionalization is a pressing task and a necessary duty in the building of socialist democratic politics.

Without doubt, our country's basic socialist political system is good. However, in terms of specific leadership structures many shortcomings exist. Our country's current leadership system was born in the years of revolutionary struggle and was basically established in the period of socialist transformation. It developed in the course of large-scale mass movements and continually strengthening mandatory planning. This system stresses "unified" leadership and power is excessively centralized. This is manifested in that: The microeconomic level government and enterprise functions are not separated, grass-roots level autonomy is very small, and the powers of enterprise and institutional units is excessively centralized in administrative organs; within the government, central and local, financial power and management power is not clearly delineated, and local power is excessively centralized in the central government; the party and government functions are not separated, the party replaces the government, and the government's power is excessively centralized in the various levels of the party committee; and in terms of party organization the secretary is in command, and the party organization's power is excessively centralized in the hands of a few people, or even centralized in the hands of individual leaders. This type of system is a product of the historical conditions of the past. Now the situation has developed, the party's cause has progressed, and it is necessary to reform this type of system. This is because it does not accord with carrying out modernization in the areas of the economy, politics, and culture under peaceful conditions, and does not accord with developing a socialist commodity economy. Following the initial formation of our country's industrial system and the continual development of socialist construction, as well as the actual shift in the party's key task, its shortcomings have gradually been revealed. These shortcomings are centrally manifested in the excessive centralization of power, the seriousness of bureaucratism, and the remnant influence of feudalism. Specifically these are all closely connected with the low degree of institutionalization. When power is excessively centralized it is easy for the situation to arise whereby a small number of people have the say, and the institution can easily be damaged by individual will. If the institutions are not complete and the work is not carried out in accordance with laws and regulations, efficiency will decline greatly, resulting in bureaucratism easily finding an institutional breeding ground. The feudal practices of one person having the say and of patriarchal systems are even more incompatible with institutionalized management and activities.

In brief, the lack of concrete institutional construction and a low degree of institutionalization are major lessons in our country's democratic political construction. Since

the founding of the PRC, our country has successively formulated four constitutions and also many laws and regulations. According to the stipulation in the Constitution and laws, the People's Congress system established by our country affirms that citizens enjoy basic rights and freedoms. However, we have overlooked the stipulation of concrete laws and regulations which are in accord with these basic laws, as well as the procedures and systems for realizing the various democratic rights. This has resulted in it being impossible to actually implement some democratic principles which have been stipulated in accordance with the law. For example, our country long ago established the People's Congress system, but in the areas of electoral systems, conference systems, work systems, supervisory systems, and so on, there still exist shortcomings of one sort or the other. This has led to the superiorities of this basic institution not being fully brought into play for a long period. Although our country's Constitution acknowledges that citizens enjoy wide rights, there is a great lack of appropriately specific laws to guarantee these. This even leads to illegal violations of citizen's lawful rights and there is generally no way one can complain to a specified legal organ through specified procedures. Although the various departments and various levels of our country's government have some essential division of work, there are no legal measures which clearly set down forms and procedures to which these departments and levels must adhere when taking decisions. This even leads to where the phenomena of arbitrary decisions being taken by individuals in the various organs of government, the will of the chief official being followed, responsibilities not being clearly delineated, low efficiency, and so on continually springing up. This was especially so during the 10 years of turmoil of the "Cultural Revolution". Our country's socialist democracy and legal system were seriously damaged, resulting in a major setback in the process of institutionalization of our country's political life. This is a painful historical lesson we cannot forget.

### III

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee our party summed up the experiences and lessons in history, and especially summed up the lessons from the "Cultural Revolution". This provided a thorough-going understanding of the importance of the building of socialist democratic politics, and also placed great importance on institutional construction. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, representing the party Central Committee, has repeatedly explained that we should pay attention to building institutions and to promoting the institutionalization of socialist democratic politics. This is an important part of our party's basic ideology regarding building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Long ago, during the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly put forward the proposition that socialist democratic politics be institutionalized. He said: "In order to strengthen the

people's democracy, we must strengthen the legal system. We must institutionalize the system of democracy and put it in a legal form so that these institutions and laws do not change when the leaders change, and do not change when the leaders' ideas and views change. ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 136) In August 1980, in the speech "The Reform of the Leadership Systems of the Party and the State" which Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave as the Central Committee representative, and which is a guiding document in our country's political structural reform, the idea of institutionalization was further expounded in a centralized way. This speech from beginning to end placed the focus of attention on structural reform and establishing institutions, and provided us with a theoretical base and practical guidance in promoting the institutionalization of socialist democratic politics. In this speech it was emphatically pointed out: "The various mistakes which we discovered in the past were, of course, related to the ideologies and workstyles of various leaders. However, the problem of organizational systems and work systems is more important. If these systems are well arranged, evil persons will have no way of acting arbitrarily or tyrannically. If the systems are not well arranged, however, it will result in good people being unable to fully carry out good work, and may even cause them to go in the opposite direction." Thus it is said: "The leadership system and organizational system questions are even more basic and more important to the overall situation, more important to stability, and more important to long-term development" ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 293)

Proceeding from this basic idea Comrade Deng Xiaoping, as the party Central Committee representative, expounded on the idea of institutionalization in respect of a series of political structural issues. Realizing younger cadre ranks requires the resolution of organizational system problems. In cadre work it is necessary to establish a set of systems for employment, reward and penalty, retirement, resignation and natural wastage. Overcoming bureaucratism requires the resolution of institutional level problems. "If the institutional problems are not resolved, ideological style problems cannot be resolved." "In the past, although we engaged in opposition to bureaucracy many times, the results were very meagre." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 288) The issue lies in that if we do not resolve the institutional question, all aspects of work will lack institutionalized management. In the same way, the phenomenon of privilege which the people hate and are upset by, must also be eliminated through a process of institutionalization. "The old society left us with many feudal autocratic traditions and few democratic legal traditions. After liberation we did not establish institutions in a conscious and systematic way to guarantee the democratic rights of the people. The legal system is very incomplete and is paid little attention and while privilege is sometimes subject to restriction, criticism and attack, at other times it grows anew. Overcoming the

phenomenon of privilege requires the resolution of ideological problems and the resolution of institutional problems. ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 292) Have we not always had democratic traditions? Why has the situation of individual autocracy subsequently developed? It is because these fine traditions "have not been formed into strict and complete institutions." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 290) In brief, we "must resolve problems from the institutional angle" ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 307) and we "must, on the institutional level, guarantee the democratization of party and state political life, the democratization of economic management, and the democratization of overall social life." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 296) This process is the process by which socialist democratic politics will move towards institutionalization. Placing stress on building institutions and continually promoting institutionalization can be said to be important guiding ideas for our party in respect of political structural reform.

#### IV

It was in conformity with the demands of our country's economic development and political progress, through summing up the experiences and lessons of history and abiding by the constant ideology since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, that the 13th Party Congress Report, when expounding on the basic principles of political structural reform at the present stage in our country, placed stress on pointing out the importance of institutionalization. The report notes: "We should try to define, in terms of laws or rules, what should be encouraged and what should be rejected. Only in this way can we bring about a new standard for political, economic and social activities. And only in this way can we institutionalize various aspects of society: The relations between party and government departments on the one hand and public organizations on the other; the activities within government departments; the relations between the central authorities, the local authorities, and the grass-roots units; the training, selection, employment and replacement of personnel; democracy at the grass-roots level; and consultation between leadership and the rank and file. In short, through reform we should gradually establish a legal framework for our socialist democracy and institutionalize it." This summary and conclusion enables us to understand that, in a certain sense, the content and task of political structural reform in our country in the near-term is institutionalization. It can be said that the basic principles set down for political structural reform by the 13th Congress are penetrated throughout by the principles and ideas of institutionalization. All of the long-term aims, short-term aims, and major components of our country's political structural reforms have a close relationship with institutionalization, and all must be understood from the angle of institutionalization.

If we are to institutionalize socialist democratic politics we must first put in order the relationship between the party and organs of political power and various other

social organizations, and institutionalize these relationships. The relationship between the party and the state is one of the core relationships in our country's political structure. The functions of the party and the organs of political power must be separated, and this is a key task which must be handled first in our country's political structural reform. We must firmly maintain leadership by the CPC. This point is beyond dispute and will brook no vacillation. In socialist modernization, how can we firmly maintain leadership by the party? This requires the formation of a new type of party leadership and leadership modes which are in accord with the demands of socialist modernization. The unified leadership which was formed during the long war years and which had some effectiveness in the past has the characteristics of excessively centralized power and a high degree of adaptability. Now it is not suited to the heavy and complex leadership tasks of socialist modernization. That form of leadership, which suited the war-time environment of rapid change, is very difficult to institutionalize. In the political structural reforms we must separate party and government. The basic meaning of separating party and government is to separate party functions from government functions, so that the party organs and the organs of political power each carry out their different functions. This is different from the flexible division of work between party and government and is something which requires institutionalization.

A basic content of the institutionalization of socialist democratic politics is the institutionalization of the internal activities in organs of state political power. As the organs are state management machinery, the internal activities of these organs of state power should be ordered. If not, there will be absolutely no efficiency. Because there had been no institutional construction for a long time, within our organs of state power there was a lack of strict top-to-bottom administrative regulations and personal responsibility systems, and there was no strict and clear stipulation as to the limits of responsibility of specific units and specific persons. Whether it is that the regulations are unclear, or that there are no rules to follow, it means that the majority of people cannot independently take responsibility for handling the matters they should handle. This produces serious bureaucratism. Thus, in the political structural reforms we must put in order the division of responsibilities within organs of political power, establish good organizational set-ups and rational activity mechanisms, and bring administrative management on to the track of institutionalization. These institutions should include detailed and workable technical regulations, but should not be large and impractical, or large and carelessly planned.

The institutionalization of the internal activities of organs of state power and the institutionalization of the training, selection, employment, and replacement of personnel are two sides of the one coin, while the institutionalization of personnel management is an important component part of political structural reform. The major shortcomings of the current cadre personnel

system are manifested as: Unwieldiness and a lack of classifications; management authority being too highly centralized and the managers becoming divorced from the things being managed; management forms being outdated and unitary; and management systems being incomplete and there being a lack of rule by law when employing people. In brief, the degree of institutionalization is low. This is greatly disadvantageous to raising efficiency, increasing vigor, and motivating enthusiasm. Reforming the cadre personnel system and establishing a set of regular practices in terms of personnel employment, rewards and penalties, and resignation and replacement has become a pressing task.

In our country's process of political structural reform, it is inevitable that there a multi-directional movement will occur whereby functions are divided and authority is divided. This is in line with the task of eliminating the defect of power being excessively centralized, which we are carrying out through political structural reform. Seen from the lateral angle, power is excessively centralized in the party organs. This requires that, through rational division of the functions of party organs, the organs of political power and the various social organs, this power be divided. Thereby the party's leading position will be accentuated, the party's leadership role will be strengthened, and the enthusiasm of all sides will be motivated. This process is the separation of party and government functions and the result will be the institutionalization of the relationship between the party organization, the organs of political power, and the various social organs. Seen from the vertical angle, power is excessively centralized in the upper levels. This situation should be resolved through the rational divisions of the functions of the central authorities, local authorities, and grass-roots units. This will strengthen the macroeconomic control capabilities of the central authorities and their capacity to assume overall control of the whole situation. It will also motivate the enthusiasm of the localities and the grass-roots level units. This process is the handing down of power and it will involve the institutionalization of the relationship between the central authorities, the localities, and the grass-roots level units. It is as the 13th Congress report pointed out: "The handing down of power involves the reform of many regulations and systems." Therefore this reform must be institutionalized. In developing government, one of the important aspects of this concept of "institutionalization" is dredging and improving the channels of participation. It is a question of the degree of organization of democratic participation. When we talk about institutionalization its contents are much richer, but without doubt it must include the institutionalization of democratic life. In our country's political structural reform in the present stage this is mainly manifested in two aspects: The first is the institutionalization of grass-roots level democratic life; and the second aspect is the institutionalization of social consultation and dialogue. The essence and core of



socialist democratic politics is that the masses are masters. This point needs to be manifested in specific institutions and there must be realistic forms and legal guarantees. This requires institutionalization.

It is clear that institutionalization is a necessary road for raising efficiency, increasing vigor, and motivating enthusiasm. It is the basis and guarantee of a high degree of democracy. Without institutionalization there will be no socialist democratic politics. If socialist democratic politics is to become a practical activity of 1 billion people and a truly effective political mechanism, then there is a need to move step-by-step towards institutionalization.

## V

Socialist democracy and the socialist legal system are inseparable, and the concept of institutionalization is an organic merging of democracy and the legal system. What is referred to as institutionalization has, as its major form of manifestation, the legal system, and this of course includes the various regulations and so on. Promoting the institutionalization of socialist democratic politics means that at the same time as we develop socialist democracy, we must perfect the socialist legal system, and use both laws and institutions to guarantee democracy.

In fact, divorced from the legal system there can be no real democracy. First, democracy without legal and institutional guarantees is not solid democracy. Law is one of the important normative forms in social activities and, because democratic life inevitably brings with it the exercise of free rights and the development of diversity, there is a particular need for certain overall norms. If these do not exist, society may be plunged into chaos. At the same time, if there are not generally accepted norms, democratic life can easily be damaged by the will of a number of people or even specific individuals. Thus democracy cannot be divorced from law and cannot be divorced from institutions.

Second, the development of democracy must be in accord with the improvement of laws and institutions and cannot progress in a way which transcends legal and institutional construction. If it does, it may well give rise to disorder and upheaval. Thus, the healthy development of democracy can only be carried out along the track of institutionalization. This is an issue which requires that the development of democracy and the development of law be suited to each other, and in developing government this question must receive a high degree of attention.

Our country is a developing country which is in the primary stage of socialism. In its history, it has seen a long period of feudal traditions, and it has lacked the tradition of democracy and rule of law. With such a national situation, the development of our country's socialist democratic politics particularly requires the

concurrent development of a socialist legal system at the same pace. That is to say, we must particularly stress institutionalization. In the process of democratic political development, developing countries all face the major problem of how to maintain social stability. In our country, after going through the 10-year chaos of the "Cultural Revolution" the people thirst for stability and unity, and economic construction requires a stable social and political environment. If we do not have a complete legal system and do not, at the same time as developing democratic politics, place a high degree of importance on promoting institutionalization, it could easily lead to all sorts of social contradictions resulting in social upheaval. Thereby, democracy will not be achieved and it will be difficult to develop the economy. Thus, the 13th Congress report pointed out: "Our modernization faces complex social contradictions, and requires a stable social and political environment." We absolutely cannot engage in the "great democracy" which harms the state legal system and social stability." This stresses the importance of institutionalization from the other side, and demonstrates the tight relationship between socialist democratic politics and institutionalization. It can be said that promoting institutionalization was an inevitable choice in the political structural reform for appropriately handling the relationship between democracy and stability and between democracy and efficiency.

Thus, if we are to promote the institutionalization of socialist democratic politics, we must pay particular attention to building the legal system. We must improve and strengthen legal work, improve law enforcement and strive to achieve a situation where within the state's political life, economic life, cultural life, and social life there are laws to abide by and are abided by, there is strict enforcement, and offenders are investigated. In this way, new clear standards will be used to manage society and to guarantee that society, the economy, culture, and politics develop in an ordered way under conditions of stability. This can be said to be a basic principle of our country's political structural reforms, something we cannot be without even for a moment.

## VI

The aim of carrying out political structural reform is, seen from the long-term, to establish a socialist political structure with a high degree of democracy and a complete legal system, which is highly effective and brimming with vigor. In achieving this long-term goal of ours, we will need to work hard over a long period. Given that our basic national situation is that we are in the primary stage of socialism, and that the level of development of our productive forces and the level of our social, political, and cultural qualities are not very high, if we are to establish socialist political structure which has a high degree of democracy, a complete legal system, is highly effective and brimming with vigor, we need to not only set about reforming the political structure, but also to make efforts in creating more suitable and more complete economic, social, and cultural conditions. This will



require an orderly and step-by-step process of accumulation over a long period. In this process it is extremely important that we maintain stability and promote reform. Thus in the short-term, our political structural reforms will mainly be for the purpose of eliminating a series of major defects in the party and state leadership systems, and promoting the institutionalization of socialist democratic politics, so as to provide political preconditions for guaranteeing and promoting economic structural reform, and speeding the development of the productive forces. This will lay a substantive base, difficult to reverse, for the future long-term development of our country's socialist democratic politics.

The promotion of institutionalization is for the purpose of providing the firmest guarantees for the reforms. Thus it is said that institutionalization is not only an important component of our country's political structural reform, but is at the same time a guarantee for the reforms. Only with institutionalization will we be able to guarantee the smooth execution of economic construction and guarantee the deeper development of economic structural reform. And only with institutionalization will we be able to guarantee that political structural reform is carried out in a stable social and political environment, and guarantee that political structural reforms are gradually deepened in a guided, ordered, and step-by-step way so that real results are achieved. We can thus understand that institutionalization is not only a result of reform, but also a measure and form for consolidating the achievements of reform. In this sense, institutionalization is an important and major program which will affect the success or failure of reform.

The guaranteeing role of institutionalization is manifested in its timely provision of standards for new social life, in reducing the disorder brought by changing old systems to new and other dramatic changes in the course of reform, and in laying down a firm path for the growth of the new structures. Institutionalization is both the process of the growth of new structure as well as of the environment in which the new structures grow.

To sum up, promoting the institutionalization of our country's socialist democratic politics is a basic guarantee that the tragedy of the "Cultural Revolution" will not be replayed, and that the state will long be ordered and stable. It is also an important measure in establishing regular and rational social, work, and livelihood procedures, thereby raising work efficiency, increasing overall vigor, and motivating the enthusiasm of the whole society. Through institutionalization we will be able, under the leadership of the CPC, to establish and develop socialist democratic politics in an ordered, gradual, and down-to-earth way, and fully realize a situation where the masses are masters.

**The Beauty of Life, Art, and Ideal—A Brief Talk on the Portraits Painted by Jin Shangyi**  
*HK251450 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 21, 4 Nov 87 inside back cover*

[Article by Zhang Zuying [1728 4371 5391]]

[Text] Portrait painting is a major form of oil painting art and has always held an important position in the history of art. A good portrait not only accurately shows the features of the subject's external image, but also catches the delicate change in the subject's internal feelings and mental activities, thus turning a transient image in life into a permanent art model. Therefore, all portrait painters must have reached outstanding artistic attainments and have acute powers of observation. From the past to the modern times, many famous oil painters have also been outstanding portrait painters. Jin Shangyi is a famous oil painter in our country and president of the Central Art College. He began studying the art of portrait painting in the 1960's, and has successively created many exquisite works.

"Tajik Bride" is his representative work. The painting shows a warm feeling. The bride in the painting wears a red wedding robe and a red scarf on her head. She is immersed in imagination of her future life. Her elegant and charming image and the shy expression on her face demonstrated by her lowered eyelids make people feel something beautiful and pure. The painter delicately and vividly depicted the Tajik girl's shy and restrained expression at the moment of wedding and her sentiments of ardent yearning for a happy life with deep feeling, refined techniques, strong color contrast, and minute depiction. The simple and clear form of the painting presents a sharp contrast to the rich connotation of the inner world of the figure. This makes the work full of dramatic effects and artistic charm.

"Young Singer" depicts a young singer well known to many people. The painter demonstrated the northern girl's simple and composed disposition with some original painting techniques. He adopted the techniques of early European paintings and depicted the figure's image in an extremely exquisite way; at the same time, he also used the techniques of Chinese landscape paintings of the Song Dynasty to depict the background. This forms a deep and delicate art atmosphere in the painting. The black dress effectively sets off the facial image by contrast and adds calm and serenity to the whole painting. The painting is full of the beauty of Oriental art and represents the painter's successful effort to display the national spirit and character with Western painting techniques.

In China, portrait painting is an independent branch of art and is in the ascendant. The art practice of Jin Shangyi played an important pioneering role in bringing about this new period. Jin Shangyi is one of the first group of painters trained by the new China. In the earlier

years, his works depicted historical scenes of the revolution. His outstanding works "Long March" and "The December Meeting" won a great deal of praise. In these paintings, the figures are all full of special images and artistic charm. The painter focused his creations on depicting man's life and inner world. He tried to use art to depict the beauty in man's life and inner world to arouse people's love of life and enthusiasm for seeking truth. He paid special attention to the study of oil painting techniques. He holds that it is of great significance to deeply study the realistic painting tradition in Europe from the Renaissance to the impressionist school in the 19th century, as oil painting was first developed in Europe. This study will help develop today's oil painting art in China. Our studies of the rich traditional art techniques in this field are not yet sufficient. However, this does not mean that we should just simply imitate and duplicate the traditional techniques of Western

paintings; instead, through absorbing and making use of the essence of other people's art, we should develop our own characteristics to express our own feelings. In his art practice, Jin Shangyi not only concentrated on studying the essence of Western art, but also made efforts to develop the special national quality as a Chinese painter. Thus, he gradually shaped a delicate, elegant, and exquisite style of art in his works, which include rich contents in a simple form and which show overall harmony in well-built structures.

The painter is working hard in a down-to-earth manner to make explorations, and his ideal is to climb to the peak of art and take China's oil painting to an advanced position in the world. /06091

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